

## THE MACCRIMMONS OF SKYE

### FAMILY HISTORY

There are many stories, tales and fancies about the origin of this family which, when read, only tend to confuse the reader, and an attempt will be made to give a factual account of their origin. There are many factors, which point to various theories, but, to discuss them here would only give rise to more speculation and argument about a subject, which is already too controversial. Suffice to say that, regardless of their origin, it is what these legendary characters brought into the world for Pipers that is the most important part of their story. Authorities for the statements made herein are noted by number (ie (1), (2), etc) and by checking these against Appendix 'A', the authors name will be found.

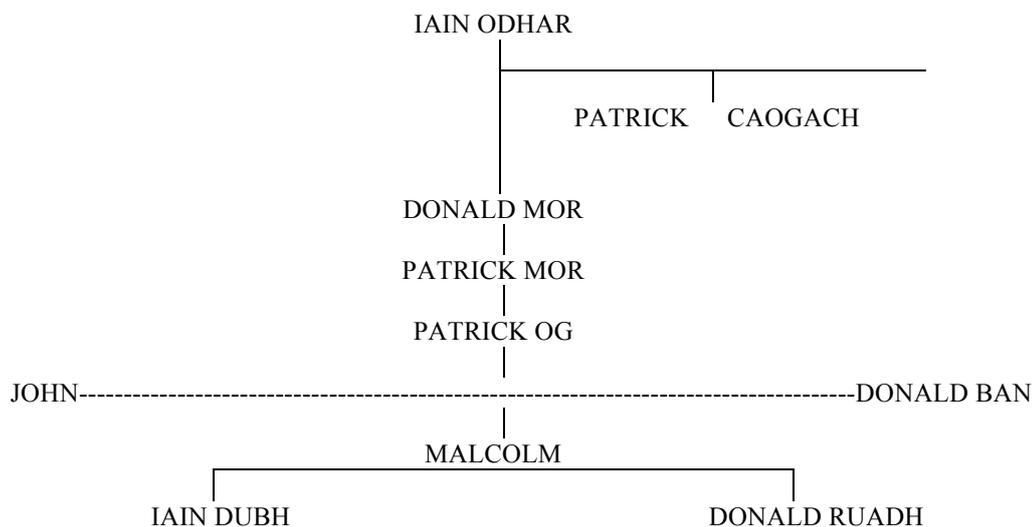
The MacCrimmon family are said to have been natives of CREMONA, ITALY and, that MacLeod of Dunvegan, when on a visit to that town, took this man into his service as a musician. He called him "Cremonach" and, following the usual custom in the Highlands, the servant preceded this with "Mac". An old woman living on St Kilda some years ago, said that the first MacCrimmon was brought back from Italy by MacLeod, on a visit there during the Holy Wars. (1) This supposition has, to some degree been confirmed by extensive research (2) (3).

Another theory is that they came from the Isle of Man and, to some extent, this is supported by written accounts. (4) There is yet another theory that the MacCrimmon family were at one time located in Ireland, and the Petrus Bruno is reputed to have been the founder of the MacCrimmon family. He had three sons, Pedruig, Angus, and Finlay of the Plaid, and it is believed that Donald Mor was sent for tuition, this descendant being, no doubt, the "celebrated Piper" referred to by Angus MacKay in the foreward of his book (7). The Bannatyne MS about late 18<sup>th</sup> Century informs us that South Harris was occupied by the MacCrimmons in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century (23) and later became the pipers to the MacLeods. the one undisputed fact is that the MacCrimmons were Hereditary Pipers to the MacLeods of Dunvegan from 1600 (16) to approximately 1825 (18a).

### FAMILY TREE

To mention all the MacCrimmons would be a gigantic task and would serve no real purpose, for we are only concerned with the renowned members. Before depicting the family tree, mention will be made of certain names not found there.

The first of these is Finlay of Plaid, and nothing much is known of him, except that Iain Odhar his son (17), is mentioned as having a freehold at Borreraig from MacLeod, and that he and his descendants were head of a musical seminary to which youths of the Islands and Mainland came to learn. It is said that the "Desperate Battle" (or the Battle of the Coolins), which took place in his time, is attributed to him. (3) The same author makes mention of Patrick Donn and Angus Og, both of whom little is known, although Patrick Donn in that account is reputed to have been the father of Donald Mor and Patrick Caogach (17). As concerns the Piping world, here is the family tree.



**FACTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS DURING THE LIFETIME OF FAMOUS MACCRIMMONS**

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>ACCOMPLISHMENT OR FACT</u>
<b><u>DONALD MOR</u></b>	1570	-	Born before Iain Odhar died.
	1594 (23a)	24	Accompanied by Rory Mor MacLeod to Ireland.
	1595 (1)	25	Composed "Earl of Antrim".
	1595 (6)	25	Had Son, Patrick Mor.
	1600 (1) (3)	30	Composed "Earl of Ross's March".
	1601 (23) (6)	31	Composed "The MacDonalds Salute".
	1603 (1) (7)	33	Composed "The MacLeod's Controversy".
	1620 (5)	50	Became Hereditary Piper.
	1640 (5) (6)	70	Died.
<b><u>PATRICK MOR</u></b>	1595 (17)	-	Born
	1626 (23c)	31	Composed "MacLeod of MacLeod's Lament".
	1640 (5)	45	Had Son, Patrick Og, and in this year became Hereditary Piper.
	1645 (17)	50	Composed "Lament for Donald of Laggan".
	1651 (5) (7)	57	Composed "I got a Kiss of the King's Hand".
	1661 (23d)	67	Went with his Chief to London to visit the King.
	1670 (5)	75	Died
<b><u>PATRICK OG</u></b>	1640 (6)	-	Born.
	1670 (5)	30	Became Hereditary Piper.
	1672 (23e)	32	Composed Lament for John Garve of Raasay".
	1690 (6)	50	Had Son, Malcolm.
	1695 (18)	55	Had Son, John
	1706 (23f)	66	At Galtrigal, Salary £165 Scots (£13.15 Str).
	1706 (23g)	66	Paid as Principal Piper to MacLeod 228 marks £20.9.4
	1710 (17)	70	Had Son, Donald Ban.
	1724 (16)	84	At Galtrigal, rent £120 Scots £10 Stg.
	1735 (5)	95	Died.
<b><u>NAME</u></b>	<b><u>DATE</u></b>	<b><u>AGE</u></b>	<b><u>ACCOMPLISHMENT OR FACT</u></b>
<b><u>JOHN</u></b>	1695 (about) (18)	-	Born.
	1715 (18)	20	Piper to MacRae of Conchra (at Sherrifmuir).
	1716 (7a)	21	Composed "Glen is Mine".
	?	?	Died.

<b><u>DONALD BAN</u></b>	1710 (17)	-	Born.
	1735 - 37 (4a)	25	Suggested he was Hereditary Piper (22).
	1745 (23g)	35	Taken prisoner by Jacobites.
	1746 (3) (7) (17)	36	Composed "MacCrimmon will Never Return" and died same year.
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<b><u>MALCOLM</u></b>	1690 (6)	-	Born.
	1730 (23h)	40	Transferred to Boreraig from Harris.
	1730 (1) (23h)	40	Had Son, Iain Dubh, and same year became Hereditary Piper at a salary of £5.11.0. Stg rent £66.13.4 Scots.
	1740 (6)	50	Had son, Donald Ruadh.
	1742 (23h)	52	Salary raised by £2.9.0 Stg.
	1747 (about) (3)	57	Composed "Lament for Donald Ban MacCrimmon"
	1754 (23h)	64	Rents farm at Borrodale at £30 Scots.
	1769 (5)	79	Died.
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<b><u>IAIN DUBH</u></b>	1730 (1)	-	Born.
	1769 (23i)	39	Rents Borrodale. Salary £4.10.0 Stg. rent £11.1.0 Stg.
	1770 (6) (40)	40	Became Hereditary Piper rents Boreraig.
	1771 (23j)	41	Gets new lease of Boreraig at £25. Stg. Salary £8 Stg.
	1791	61	Rent of Boreraig now £32 Stg.
	1795 (4i)	65	Retired from Appointment after disagreement on rent with the MacLeods.
	1820 (about)	90	Dictated material for Manuscript used in Captain Neil MacLeod of Gesto's publication, "The Gesto Book" (1), published in 1828.
	1822 (5)	92	Died.
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<b><u>DONALD RUADH</u></b>	1740 (6)	-	Born.
	1769 (23i)	29	At Boreraig, Salary £5.11.0 Stg Rent £11.2.0 Stg suggested that he became Hereditary Piper*
	1771-73 (4b)	31	Emigrated to America, was commissioned in a Corps of loyal Scotsmen and fought in the American War (5).
	1795 (23j)	55	By now had returned to Skye and resumed the duties of Hereditary Piper and the lease of Boreraig at a rent of £32 Stg.
	1813 (23k)	73	Had settled at Glenelg.
1825 (5)	85	Died	

\*In 1769, Donald Ruadh though the youngest of Malcolm's sons was paid a better salary than his older brother Iain Dubh, he also had a lease of the College farm Boreraig, and was evidently the "Professor" and consequently hereditary piper (23i). He emigrated when the rent was raised about 1771 and it would seem that Iain Dubh did not carry on the College though he got the lease of Boreraig, and so was ended the great MacCrimmon School of Piping (23j). In 1814 the piper at Dunvegan was Donald Donn, described by Walter Scott "as yet a deacon in his craft". Donald Ruadh was still hereditary piper but only played on very special occasions. (23k).

Iain Dubh had a son, Patrick Mor (2<sup>nd</sup>), to whom he gave very sound training, and Patrick was reputed to have been a good player. This son went into the Army as a Piper, fought under Sir John Moore at Corunna, was later commissioned and fought under Wellington at Waterloo as a Captain, With him the history of the MacCrimmon Pipers virtually ends. (3) (4).

**COMPOSITION (Piobaireachd)**

The following tunes are attributed to the MacCrimmon Composers listed:

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TUNE</u>	<u>REFERENCE</u>
<b><u>DONALD MOR</u></b>	1. Flame of Wrath for Patrick Caogach.	(1) (5b) (7) (9)
	*2. Lament for Donald Duaghal MacKay.	(5b) (7b) (8) (9)
	3. Lament for the Earl of Antrim.	(1) (14)
	4. MacLeod's Controversy.	(1) (7b) (8)
	5. March of the Earl of Ross.	(1) (3) (7b) (8)
	6. Salute to the Earl of Ross.	(1) (14)
	7. Salute, MacLeod's	
	8. Salute for MacDonald's	(1) (3) (4d) (7b)
	9. Salute for Rory Mor.	(1) (3) (14)
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<b><u>PATRICK MOR</u></b>	1. Groat, The.	(10)
	2. I got a Kiss of the King's Hand.	(1) (5b) (7b) (9)
	3. Lament for the Children.	(1) (3) (5b) (9)
	4. Lament for Donald of Laggan.	(11) (17)
	*5. Lament for Donald Duaghal MacKay.	(17)
	6. Lament for the Only Son.	(1) (3) (8) (9)
	*7. Too Long in This Condition.	(4f) (9) (12)
	8. Lament for MacLeod of MacLeod.	(23a)
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<b><u>PATRICK OG</u></b>	1. Half-Finished Piobaireachd.	(7)
	2. Pretty Dirk.	(7)
	3. Lament for John Garve MacLeod of Raasay.	(17A) (23C)
	4. Lament for Mary MacLeod.	(17a)
	*5. Too Long in This Condition.	(12)
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<b><u>DONALD BAN</u></b>	1. MacCrimmon will never return.	(3) (7b) (8) (9)
<b><u>MALCOLM</u></b>	1. Lament for Donald Ban MacCrimmon.	(3) (5b)
<b><u>JOHN</u></b>	1. The Glen is Mine	(5) (7a) (7b) (9)
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<b><u>DONALD RUADH</u></b>	1. Mrs MacLeod of Tallisker's Salute.	(13)
	2. MacCrimmon's Sweetheart.	(9)

\*There is a certain amount of confusion about the authorship of the tunes marked with an asterisk.

1. Donald Duaghal MacKay died in 1649 (7a) Donald Mor MacCrimmon is presumed to have died in 1640 and could not have composed the tune on the death of his father's friend.

2. Donald MacDonald in his book of music gives "Too Long in This Condition" as composed by "Great Peter in 1715". Patrick Mor died in 1670. Patrick Og (Young Peter) became probably the most famous piper of the MacCrimmons and was no doubt alluded to as Great Peter - (Patrick Mor). "The Lament for Patrick Og MacCrimmon" is called by MacDonald "Lament for the death of Patrick Mor MacCrimmon".

### FAMOUS PUPILS OF THE MACCRIMMON FAMILY

It is assumed that it was Iain Odhar who taught Donald Mor, who taught his son Patrick Mor, who taught his son Patrick Og; and as no other famous pupils of the first three are known, the list will begin with the pupils of Patrick Og.

#### TEACHER

#### PUPILS

#### PATRICK OG

1. John MacIntyre (19).
2. Iain Dall MacKay (Gairloch) (19).
3. Charles MacArthur (19).
4. His sons, Malcolm, John, and Donald Ban.

#### MALCOLM

- 
1. David Fraser (Simon Lord Lovat's Piper) (15).
  2. His sons, Iain Dubh, and Donald Ruadh.
  3. Donald Campbell (21).
  4. Patrick Na Coraig MacGregor (4k).

#### IAIN DUBH

- 
1. John MacKay (Raasay) (5a).
  2. Angus MacPherson (20).
  3. Alexander Bruce (2) (4i).
  4. Peter Bruce (4i).

#### DONALD RUADH

- 
1. Alexander Bruce (Sandy) Glenelg (4i).

It is worthy to note that Donald Ruadh was sent to Charles MacArthur by his father Malcolm - not for teaching but for "finishing". (19).

### CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE HEREDITARY PIPERS

<u>NAME</u>	<u>BECAME HEREDITARY PIPER</u>	<u>APPOINTMENT</u>	<u>RENOWNED AS</u>
<u>IAN ODHAR</u>	1600 (16)	1620 (5)	<u>Piper</u>
<u>DONALD MOR</u>	1620 (5) at age 50.	1640 (5) at age 70	<u>Composer, Piper</u>
<u>PATRICK MOR</u>	1640 (5) at age 45	1670 (5) at age 75	<u>Composer, Piper</u>
<u>PATRICK OG</u>	1670 (5) at age 30	1735 (5) at age 95	<u>Teacher, Piper, Composer</u>
<u>*DONALD BAN</u>	1735 (4a) at age 25	1737 at age 27	<u>Piper, Composer</u>
<u>MALCOLM</u>	1730 (23h) at age 40	1769 (5) at age 79	<u>Teacher, Piper, Composer</u>
<u>IAIN DUBH</u>	1770 (60) at age 40	1795 (6) at age 65	<u>Teacher, Piper</u>
<u>DONALD RUADH</u>	1769 (23i) 1795 (23j)	Emigrated unknown	<u>Piper, Composer</u>

\* Donald Ban was at Boreraig during these years, and it is thought that for the years 1735-37 he was standing in for his brother Malcolm who succeeded to the post in 1730.

### **THE MACCRIMMONS COLLEGE OF PIPING**

The district of Boreraig, which is situated 8 miles north of Dunvegan Castle, was first bestowed on Iain Odhar MacCrimmon by Alastair Crotach MacLeod, early 1600 (4h) (17). The land was rent free and was given to the MacCrimmons because of their position as Hereditary Pipers to the MacLeods

Various accounts allege that the MacCrimmon piping college was situated at Boreraig from its inception. However, in the Judicial rental Barony of Duirinish 1664 Jon MacLeod is tenant of Boreraig and Patrick MacCrimmon, piper; tenant of Galtrigal nearby (17). It thus appears that the school was first situated at Galtrigal as there is evidence of Patrick Mor MacCrimmon playing to his pupils at School in 1626 (1) (14), and it is suggested that when John MacLeod vacated Boreraig Patrick Og MacCrimmon took up residence about 1700 (17).

The house occupied by the MacCrimmons at Boreraig was still standing in Angus MacKay's time, for he gives an account of it as follows: "It was divided into two parts built at right angles, one forming the classroom, and the other the sleeping apartments. On top of a rising ground near the College, there is still to be seen a small hollow where the pupils used to retire to practice their respective lessons on the chanter, and where they occasionally played the full pipes. There is a place known as "The Pipers Cave", to which they also frequently resorted to play over their tunes. Close to this cave, on the South, is another, about a mile in length, called "The Pigeon's Cave", and tradition informs us that MacCrimmon's daughters would steal out with their father's favourite set of pipes in order to indulge in performing on them. MacCrimmon's daughters were able to superintend the instruction of the students in their father's absence". (7).

The college flourished successfully under Patrick Mor, Patrick OG, Malcolm, and Donald Ban (4h) and to get the certificate "Master if Composition and Theory of Music" Pipers had to memorise 196 tunes. The last student to get a certificate was named Robertson.

### **THE 1743 INDENTURE BETWEEN LORD LOVAT AND DAVID FRASER**

This written contract is of particular interest in the respect that it is probably typical of arrangements entered into when Piping Students were sent to the MacCrimmon School at Boreraig (41).

#### INDENTURE

Betwixt

The Lord Lovat and David Fraser

1743

At Beaufort the ninth day of March one thousand seven hundred and forty three years. It is contracted and agreed upon betwixt the Right Honourable Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat, on the one part, and David Fraser, his lordship's servant, brother - german de Loillan Fraser, Tacksman in Beaully, his lordship's musician, and the said William Fraser, as cautioner and surety for his said brother on the other part.

In manner following. That is to say whereas the said Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat has, out of his own generosity, clothed and maintained the said David Fraser for these several years past, and has also bestowed upon him during that time for his education as a Pyper with the now deceased Evan McGrigor, his lordship's late Pyper, and that his lordship is now to send him upon his own charges to the Isle of Skie in order to have him perfected as a Highland Pyper by the famous Malcolm MacCrimmon whom his lordship is to reward for educating the said David Fraser. Therefore, and in consideration of his Lordship's great charity, kindness and generosity the said William and David Frasers have become bound and hereby bind and engage themselves conjunctly and severally, that the said David Fraser shall honestly and faithfully serve the said Simon. Lord Fraser of Lovat, as his heir and successor by night and day for the haille space of seven full and complete years from and after the term of Whit Sunday next to come, and the he shall never do or commit anything inconsistent with, or contrary to that duty and obedience which a faithful servant owes to a bountiful master, bus shall serve them uprightly to the utmost of his skill and capacity.

For which cause and on the other part the said Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat, binds and obliges himself and his lordship's heirs executors and successors whatsoever to maintain the said David Fraser, his

servant during the space above mentioned in Bed, Board and washing and to furnish and provide him in cloaths, shoes and stockings, and likewise to satisfy and pay him yearly and ilk year the sum of fifty marks Scots money in mane of wages during the said space of seven years commencing from Whit Sunday next, and in the meantime to send him with all due convenience to the Isle of Skie to be perfected a Highland Pyper by the above named McGrimon. The charge and expense whereof his lordship is to defray as said is etc.

In witness where of (written upon stamped paper by Hugh Fraser, Secretary to the said Lord Lovat) his lordship and the said William and David Frasers have subscribed those presents, consisting of this and the preceding page, place and date above mentioned before witnesses John Forbes, servant to his lordship and the said Hugh Fraser,

John Forbes Witness  
Hugh Fraser Witness

Lovat  
William Fraser  
David Fraser

## **BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE FAMOUS MACCRIMMONS**

### **IAIN ODHAR**

Little is known of him, except that he is said to have been the first Pipers at Dunvegan about 1600 (15).

### **DONALD MOR**

He was sent to Ireland for instruction and attended a course whereon there were 24 other students. Each pupil went into the master's room seperately, Donald, after a few days, found a place to hide where he could hear all the other pupils as they came in to be taught. He was so quick to learn that, within a short time, he had learned all that could be given to him. He was Piper to sir Roderick MacLeod (Rory Mor), and played before nobility and gentry so much that it earned him a high position amongst the Pipers of his day (1). He returned to Ireland to assist Red Hugh O'Donnell in 1595 to rebel against Queen Elizabeth and composed the "Lament for the Earl of Antrim". He went to great lengths to avenge the murder of his brother, Patrick Caogach, from whence came the tune "A Flame of Wrath for Patrick Caogach". (7)

### **PATRICK CAOGACH**

He was foully murdered by his foster brother, McKenzie from Kintail, and this deed gave rise to many adventures experienced by Donald Mor in trying to avenge him (7).

### **PATRICK MOR**

He, like his father Donald Mor, served under Rory Mor and, in 1626, composed the "Lament for Rory Mor" on the death of his chief. He lost 7 sons after an epidemic fever, all within 12 months, and thereupon composed "Lament for the Children" (1). It is surmised that Patrick Og was the one remaining son for whom his father composed "Lament for the Only Son". Patrick also composed "I got a Kiss of the King's Hand. (1) (4j).

### **PATRICK OG**

His influence on Piping was immense, for here was by all account the Master Player and teacher. He was the incumbent of the post of Professor at the College both a Galtrigal and Borerraig for some 65 years and consequently his methods became very much accepted as the traditional way. It is felt that he was largely responsible for the gracenoting technique that obtains today. His sons who came to maturity Malcolm, John and Donald Ban, were all exceptional performers. (1)

### **DONALD BAN**

Legend has it that he was forewarned of impending death when he went with MacLeod to assassinate the Pretender of Moy. He himself did not want to go against his king, but loyally followed his Chief. this premonition of doom gave rise to his composing "MacCrimmon Will Never Return". David Fraser, a blacksmith, fired the shot which killed Donald Ban in the Rout of Moy, 1746. (1)

**JOHN**

Little is known about him except that he composed "The Glen is Mine", while Piper to Seaforth, when his master was making his way through Glenshiel (7a).

**IAIN DUBH**

He was a teacher and no doubt John MacKay (Raasay) derived his knowledge through him (5), as well as the Camerons and the McPhersons. But, he also left us some of the MacCrimmons tunes when he gave Capt Neil MacLeod of Cesto the Cantaireachd for them (15).

**DONALD RUADH**

It has been said of him that he passed nothing of his art to his own family. He taught Alexander Bruce (Glenelg), whose two sons, John and Peter, emigrated to Australia, taking with them the teaching methods and theories of Donald Ruadh (4b).

**SUMMARY**

In conclusion, it may be said that the period of seven years or more tuition for a MacCrimmon Pupil was deemed necessary, in view of the subject being taught, and the method of instruction. Be that as it may, without the MacCrimmons, Piping as it is known today would not exist.

Besides leaving their art and tunes as a memorial to the great MacCrimmon name, a Cairn has been erected at the site of their College at Boreraig, and a set of bagpipes in Dunvegan Castle are reputed to be a MacCrimmon instrument. The Dunvegan Challenge Medal is competed for annually at Portree and this competition is solely for playing of MacCrimmon composed Piobaireachd. Aside from this summary, whether chronology, genealogy, incidents, etc, stated herein are fact, is left to conjecture, but must be regarded as being fairly near the truth.

APPENDIX 'A'

<u>REFERENCE NO</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>ARTICLE</u>	<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>PAGE NO</u>
(1)	MacCrimmons of Skye	An entire book	F T MacLeod	
(2)	Piping Times Vol 5 Nos 4 to 10	Cremona	T Pearston	
(3)	Piping Times Vol 7 Nos 7 to 9	Great Music of Clans MacCrimmon	Neil Ross	
(4)	Piping Times Vol 11 No 6	When came the MacCrimmons	Jas E Scott	
(4a)	Piping Times Vol 7 No 9	Donald Ban	Neill Ross	16
(4b)	" " Vol 14 No 10	Donald Ruadh	A MacAulay	14
(4c)	" " Vol 7 No 9	Iain Dubh	Neill Ross	16
(4d)	" " Vol 11 No 6	MacDonald's Salute	Jas E Scott	7, 8
(4e)	" " Vol 2 No 10	Lost Piobaireachd	Wm Gray	8
(4f)	" " Vol 17 No 12	Too Long in this Condition	A Campbell	6
(4g)	" " Vol 5 No 4	Mary MacLeod	J MacFadyen	14
(4h)	" " Vol 14 No 10	Boreraig College	A MacAuley	14, 15
(4i)	" " Vol 3 No 7	Donald Ruadh	A Campbell	6, 7
(4j)	" " Vol 6 No 12	I kissed King's Hand	Jas E Scott	6,7
(4k)	" " Vol 2 No 11	MacGregor Pipers	A Campbell	12
(4l)	" " Vol 16 No 5	Indenture	A Campbell	6, 7
(4m)	" " Vol 9 No 7	Bruce of Glenelg	K M MacDonald	15. 16
(5)	Kilberry's Ceol Mor	MacCrimmons	A Campbell	9
(5a)	" " "	Connection through John MacKay	A Campbell	10
(5b)	" " "	Composers	A Campbell	Index
(6)	Tree of Piping held in Army School of Piping		J A MacLellan	
(7)	Ancient Piobaireachd	Hereditary Pipers	Angus MacKay	7, 10
(7a)	" "	Historical Notes	Angus MacKay	No LIX
(7b)	" "	Composers	Angus MacKay	Index
(8)	Ceol Mor	Index	Gen Thomason	
(9)	Ancient Piobaireachd	Composers	David Glen	Contents
(11)	Piobaireachd Studies	Composers	G F Ross	Contents
(12)	D MacDonald's Book	Composers	D MacDonald	Contents
(13)	Ross's Book of Pipe Music	Composers	Wm Ross	Contents
(14)	Pipes of War	Spirit of MacCrimmon	F T MacLeod	201-18
(15)	Highland Bagpipe	MacCrimmons	M L Mason	Index
(16)	Highland Clans of Scotland	Clan MacLeod	G Eyre-Todd	Index
(17)	MacCrimmon Family	Patrick Mor	Poulter and Fisher	Index

(17a)	MacCrimmon Family	Patrick Og	Poulter and Fisher	Index
(18)	Oban Times	Letter 20 May 1920	Piob Mor	
(19)	Angus MacKay's Book	Hereditary Pipers	A MacKay	11, 12, 13, 14
(20)	A Highlander Looks Back	The Skye Pipers	A MacPherson	64
(21)	Piobaireachd Society Book 10	Campbell	A Campbell	V
(22)	Specimens of Canntaireachd (National Library)		Angus MacKay	
(23)	The MacLeod's	A Clan History	I F Grant	23 - 27
(23a)	" "	A Clan History	I F Grant	245
(23b)	" "	A Clan History	I F Grant	199
(23c)	" "	A Clan History	I F Grant	245
(23d)	" "	A Clan History	I F Grant	295
(23e)	" "	A Clan History	I F Grant	337
(23v)	" "	A Clan History	I F Grant	376
(23g)	" "	A Clan History	I F Grant	452
(23h)	" "	A Clan History	I F Grant	490
(23i)	" "	A Clan History	I F Grant	491
(23j)	" "	A Clan History	I F Grant	560
(23k)	" "	A Clan History	I F Grant	562